



Crusade for Freedom

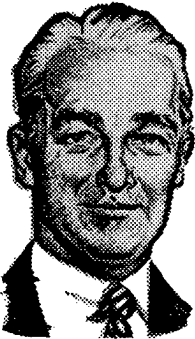
IN SUPPORT OF RADIO FREE EUROPE

Jim Bishop: Reporter

A Beacon of Truth In Ocean of Lies

By JIM BISHOP

"HELLO. Tu mowj Radio Wolnej Europy. Dzisiaj w budynku Naradow Ziednoczonych w Nowym Yorku, delegat Rosj Sowieckiej Zostal zmuszony do wycofania swoich zazutow rze—" A clatter of noise interrupted the broadcast. It sounded like a flat wheel on cobblestones. The voice of Radio Free Europe struggled to get through to Poland. It failed. The Soviet Union had jammed it.



JIM BISHOP

The announcer had said: "Hello. This is Radio Free Europe. Today, in the United Nations in New York, the Soviet delegate was compelled to withdraw his charges that—" The Soviet maintains many powerful radio stations in western Russia. They cost \$133,000,000 a year to maintain. They do two things: feed Communist propaganda to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania

and Bulgaria, and they kill truth with jamming.

One of them had come in loud. No Pole heard the truth that morning.

Crusade For Freedom, a collection of Americans who care, furnishes the money for two big radio stations in Europe. One is at Lisbon and it beams the truth diagonally upward at the ionosphere. It bounces off and comes down in Middle Europe loud and clear. The other is Radio Munich, a station two and a half times as powerful as any in the United States.

Thus, Crusade For Freedom and Radio Free Europe are one. Crusade raises the money; RFE does the broadcasting. Crusade employs 42 persons, among them, Captain George W. Campbell, USN, Retired, who heads the publicity branch. Radio Free Europe employs 200 persons in New York, 1,800 in Europe. These man 29 transmitters.

The entire operation costs about \$10,000,000 a year. It is cheap compared to the \$4,000,000,000 we spend on foreign aid. Of course, it is urgent that we feed millions of starving people so long as God has blessed us with the grain, but it is important that we feed the minds of these people too. In the five satellite countries between Russia and NATO, there are 70,000,000 people and 7,500,000 radio sets. These little sets are the lifeline between us and them.

The Russians are finding it increasingly difficult, and sometimes impossible, to throttle the truth.

When a Pole or a Bulgar listens to Radio Free Europe, there is no legal penalty. The government merely investigates the family and sometimes tries the father on a charge of warmongering. RFE is on the air 20 hours a day, 7 days a week. The people listen. We know they listen because (1) They tell American visitors about it; (2) They send letters to friends in Western Europe advising Radio Free Europe how to combat jamming; (3) Defectors who flee west quote from recent broadcasts.

Ironically, our powerful transmitters are forbidden to try to jam Russian broadcasts.

The more the Russians suppress and distort, the more Radio Free Europe tells the truth. The listeners can gauge which is worthy of credence. The broadcasters never advocate violence or revolution or sabotage. There are special programs all day and evening for farmers, women, religious services, music and drama.

The cost of truth is always cheap. We can't afford to have silence fall over Europe.

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NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MAY 19, 1958

Today in World Affairs**Kremlin Weakness Is Seen
In 'Jamming' of U.S. News**

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, May 18.

What are the men in the Kremlin afraid of? They talk glibly about wanting better understanding between the Soviet and American peoples. But the jamming of broadcasts of news from the United States into the countries behind the Iron Curtain continues with renewed intensity.



Lawrence

It is reliably estimated that, out of the several billions in its propaganda budget, the Soviet government is spending \$100,000,000 a year just to jam radio broadcasts from stations in the free world to Russia and the captive countries. This is about the same amount that Congress appropriates for the entire program of information disseminated through radio, movies and books by the U. S. information agency.

The number of persons inside Russia who understand English is limited, so the broadcasts by the "Voice of America" when made in English are not interfered with—besides, the Moscow authorities like to transcribe for themselves what is being said. The broadcasts in the Russian language, however, and in all Slavic languages sent from stations in Europe both by the United

States and her allies are always jammed. This means that electronic devices are used in various places to interfere with transmission.

See Papers Censored

The authorities also censor every newspaper and magazine published in the Soviet Union, and instructions are regularly issued banning the publication of certain kinds of information.

Throughout the Soviet Union, the radio is used twenty-four hours a day, with considerable repetition and persistence, to explain the government's point of view to the people.

The apologists for the Soviet Union claim they practice "democracy." They use the phrase "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" and often refer to "freedom" but, curiously enough, the men in command are afraid to let the Soviet people get both sides of public questions. The people are told that the government has made up its mind as to what is right and proper for them to know, and any one who differs is suspected of treason.

While the existence of this sort of intimidation is well known outside the Soviet Union, there is no clear explanation as to why the Kremlin is afraid to let the truth come in. No such timidity is shown with respect to the admission of musical groups or ballets or works of art, and there are even token examples of government tolerance of a few Christian churches.

What Is Behind Fear?

What is behind the fear that causes the Soviet authorities to spend so much time and money jamming the "Voice of America" broadcasts in the Russian and Slavic languages? There was a time when the Communists said they were proud to have the Russian language extolled outside the Soviet Union. Can it be that the Communists really fear the effect on the people of their own country and on the minds of the inhabitants

of the captive countries if the truth is allowed to penetrate?

Why, it may be asked, do the Soviet officials exhibit such anxiety about the American point of view? They have no hesitancy in rebutting it day in and day out in their own broadcasts sent to foreign lands. This correspondent listens often to the English-language broadcasts from Moscow, and they are a monotonous repetition of the Soviet rejection of the American viewpoint. But if this is felt to be a persuasive rebuttal, why are the Soviets afraid to let the debate of both sides be heard inside their country by their own people?

Only Possible Answer

There is only one possible answer to the mystery. It is that the Soviet rulers are convinced that their own arguments will not stand up when the truth is known, and they fear a revolution against them. This is the inevitable trend in a dictatorship, but defensive tactics like this eventually prove their own undoing. People become suspicious. The power of word-of-mouth publicity is greater than almost anything else. The printed word and the broadcasts that reach neighboring countries do overflow the borders, as travelers bring in news and gossip from other areas. Rumors are sometimes exaggerations and word-of-mouth circulation has been proved worse in its impact than the printing of the truth.

So the Soviet dictatorship probably is going the way of other autocracies—for a government that is ashamed or afraid to allow a debate on its policies cannot long endure.

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from the CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM

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MARCH 23-29 TV



JOHN CROSBY

To Win Their Trust

RADIO Free Europe, the privately operated chain of radio stations which pours the truth into the Iron Curtain countries, has been in business for eight years now and has gained greatly in wisdom and sophistication. One of its hardest lessons has been the complexity of European politics which in turn has bred a subtlety and complexity of political outlook far different from our own.

R.F.E., for instance, has learned that it can't simply treat its audience as a large lump of anti-Communists. Middle Europeans are anti-Communist in wildly different degrees and for many different reasons. To get at them, R.F.E. has toiled assiduously to earn a reputation for reliability and credibility. Before a listener behind the Iron Curtain tunes to any station, he wants to know what the station represents, who finances it, what are its motives. In the case of a station like R.F.E. which is operated and financed from abroad, the listener wants to know how honest it is. Will the station tell the truth—even when the truth hurts?

R.F.E. has tried to give the answers, though it hasn't been easy. Robert C. Sorensen, who is chief of audience research for R.F.E., points out that there is much wishful thinking in Communist-occupied countries. If a politician in the United States makes a speech declaring that the United States ought to liberate Hungary, R.F.E.'s position is that it ought to

broadcast the speech to Hungary but it must imply delicately but firmly that the chances of the U.S. liberating Hungary are infinitesimal. Since individuals may pin hopes on the slenderest of reeds, R.F.E. sometimes has to be pretty explicit.

No one has ever convinced me that research among radio listeners is very reliable even in this free country. Behind the Iron Curtain in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania, it is even more difficult but Sorensen claims R.F.E. can measure its effectiveness fairly accurately by two means: first, by means of the attacks against it by the Communist press and radio and, second, by interviews with escapees.

R.F.E. is now attacked more than all the other western stations and networks (such as BBC or Voice of America) combined, Sorensen reports proudly. In the past year, instead of just being attacked in generalities, R.F.E. stories are specifically attacked and specifically denied. Communists spend millions of dollars annually jamming R.F.E. stations and it's estimated they now use 1,000 to 1,500 jamming transmitters simply against their Polish broadcasts alone. R.F.E. gets through by turning all its twenty-nine transmitters on Poland between the hours of 6 p.m. and midnight which gives the Poles a wide choice of frequencies.

Not only do the broadcasts get through, there is evidence that they are accepted as gospel, in many parts of Poland. To compete with Radio Free Europe, satellite radio stations have cut down their propaganda content and broadcast more real news which is a great blessing to the people. On crucial stories, R.F.E. gets the facts on the air before satellite radio stations figure out what line they are going to play. This isn't hard because the European press services relay news mostly by radio rather than, as it is done here, on leased teletype wires. R.F.E. simply takes what it wants off the air and broadcasts it.

No longer, says Sorensen, are the broadcasts as specialized as they once were. R.F.E. used to have programs designed for housewives, or for workers, or for Catholics. Now they realize that housewives and Catholics and workers may all be interested in the same things, not necessarily as Catholics or housewives or workers.

* * *

But the important thing is to be trusted. In order to win trust, R.F.E. tries whenever possible to hire people who were greatly trusted in their native lands. For instance, Hungarian National Theater, a one hour Sunday night show on R.F.E., features an escaped actor and actress who were respectively the equivalent of Helen Hayes and Fredric March in their native land. They do all sorts of plays including "My Fair Lady" and "Abe Lincoln In Illinois."

"If this country were occupied and we broadcasting from Canada," says Sorensen, "we'd try to get Walter Lippmann or someone of that nature to be a commentator. Immediately, people would listen and trust our broadcasts."

RFE Broadcasts to Satellite Countries

By Floyd Anderson

MUNICH — Suppose, for one fearful instant, that you lived behind the Iron Curtain. Suppose you lived in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania or Bulgaria.

You would have access to news, of course, but news that had been tailored to fit the communist line. Your newspapers, your radio broadcasts, would carry only what the communist chiefs wanted you to know.

All the time you would have the disheartening feeling—if you knew anything of the world—that you were not getting the truth. And where could you get the truth?

You wouldn't be alone in this feeling—for there are nearly 80,000,000 communist-ruled people in Central-Eastern Europe. Many of them have traveled in what is now free Europe, in other parts of the world. They can, from their own experience, detect some of the more blatant propaganda. But they too must wonder, from time to time, how much of the truth they are really syphoning out of their communist newspapers, their communist radio broadcasts. They too must seek for the truth of what is happening in the world outside their town, their village.

Fortunately for these people behind the Iron Curtain—and for the free world, too—there are ways for them to learn true news of the world. One of these methods is by listening to the Radio Free Europe broadcasts.

Radio Free Europe is a division of the Free Europe Committee, Inc., which was set up by American citizens in 1949. Its aim basically is "to work for the freedom of the Soviet-ruled peoples behind the Iron Curtain so that they may be able to establish democratic institutions of their own choosing and to join with the other peoples of Europe in building a peaceful and cooperative European community."

Radio Free Europe does its part by radio broadcasts into five "target countries"—Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. RFE broadcasts 18 hours a day to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and four hours a day into Rumania and Bulgaria.

As with any other radio network, RFE's broadcasts include a variety of programs—music of all kinds, dramatic offerings, commentaries of various natures. But news is the key to its efforts—to get into the "target countries" the significant news of the day, as quickly as possible.

THE EUROPEAN headquarters of Radio Free Europe are here in Munich. In a big sprawling building on beautiful English Garden, some 1,300 employees from 32 nations work together in harmony — surprising harmony, one might say, considering the fact that some of their homelands have been traditional enemies. But they all seem united in a common cause—to help their homelands work out from under the communist yoke.

RFE has 29 transmitters to broadcast its programs into Eastern Europe. These transmitters, located in West Germany and Portugal, effectively bring RFE into the "target countries."

How does RFE get its news? It uses a lot of it—for every hour on the hour, RFE broadcasts 10 minutes of news.

RFE HAS THE United Press

of America and the Reuters landline services, as well as the principal newspapers of the world at its disposal. But much of its news comes from its own sources—from monitoring or listening to the broadcasts from communist stations. Then, it has an extensive news service of its own, with news and information bureaus ranging from Stockholm in the northern part of Europe to Athens in the south.

These RFE correspondents cover the news in their area. They make special attempts to interview refugees from Soviet-controlled lands; they talk to travelers, entertainers and others who have visited these communist countries. Their information is sent back to Munich, where the chiefs on the different language desks study it, correlate it with the other information they have, and decide whether and how it may be used. But always, they check it—to determine if it is true, if it is accurate—and if it is honest, because communist agents have made attempts to mislead the RFE people, so that they might broadcast erroneous statements.

The central newsroom at Radio Free Europe in Munich operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week. From its various news sources, RFE receives about a half-million words daily; it culls from that an average of 100,000 to 150,000 words a day which it distributes to the newsrooms of the five language desks.

ONE OF THE most fascinating sections of RFE's Munich office is the card file system. Here, through patient day-by-day work, an extensive and intensive record has been built up of people and places in the RFE target countries. Under Hungary, for instance, on Mar. 19 this year, there were 74,569 individual cards. And there are a comparable number of cards for each of

the other countries with which RFE is concerned.

The "Big Shot" file, for instance, has the names of prominent communists, listing briefly all the information RFE has been able to find. If one took a vacation on June 15, the card shows it. If one was reported ill, the card shows that too.

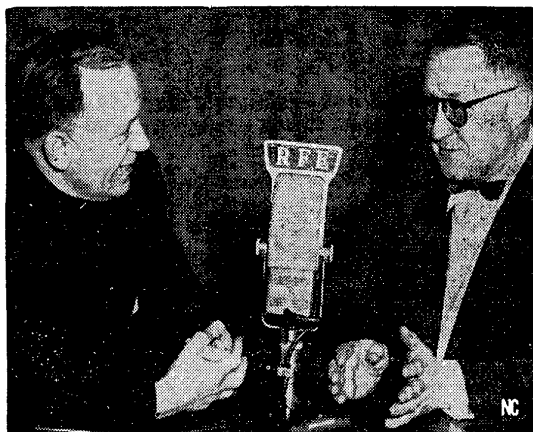
This may seem trivial information, and sometimes it is. But six months from now, that person may be reported to have done something else during his reported "illness"—a Moscow paper may refer to his having attended a meeting there, for instance. And this is worthwhile information for Radio Free Europe. It tends to discredit the newspaper that reported the "illness"; and it helps to persuade listeners to consider carefully other "news" so reported.

There are cards on all the towns and villages, all the factories—for instance, the production records whenever obtainable, the communist "bosses"; the meetings held in the factory.

These serve a double purpose. A refugee may be interviewed from the factory; the information RFE has helps to check the truthfulness of his story. And likewise, in its own broadcasts, the fact that RFE knows so much about the smallest towns impresses its listeners with its own truthfulness, RFE's own knowledge of what is going on inside the Iron Curtain.

The information for these files comes from various sources—from newspapers inside the Iron Curtain countries, which are received through "blind" addresses and other sources; from monitoring the communist radio stations; from interviews with travelers and escapees from those countries.

RADIO FREE Europe has the news, it has its various other pro-



Floyd Anderson, managing editor of The Advocate, talks with Father Tadeusz Kirschke of Radio Free Europe. Father Kirschke, a Polish priest, is senior editor for all RFE religious programs and spiritual advisor for the Polish desk in Munich.

(over)

grams; and with its fine equipment, it broadcasts these to its target c Declassified in Part - Sanitized Copy Approved for Release @ 50-Yr 2014/02/10 : CIA-RDP73-00475R000200330001-9

gams get through? Do they have any effect? In other words, is all this effort worth while? There are several ways of checking whether it is worthwhile. One method RFE has used is the number of times and the manner in which it is attacked by the communist governments of these five countries—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania. They feel that if the RFE programs were ineffective, if no one listened, the communists would not call attention to Radio Free Europe by denouncing it. And these governments have made numerous references to Radio Free Europe, in newspapers, in official statements, in radio broadcasts.

These governments also have and are spending large sums of money to "jam" the RFE broadcasts. A "jammer" is a radio station, with transmitter and all—but what it does is make noise. Its sole purpose is to stop people from listening to certain radio stations. And RFE says flatly:

"Perhaps the most eloquent and sincere official proof of RFE's effectiveness lies in the fact that Moscow and its puppet regimes spend more money trying to jam RFE's broadcasts than it costs RFE to prepare and transmit them."

An interesting sidelight on the new regime in Poland is that on Nov. 24, 1956, it officially abolished jamming. However, RFE feels quite sure that its Polish broadcasts are still being jammed—but from outside the Polish borders.

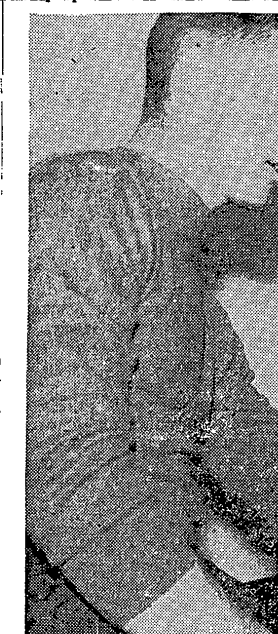
RFE tries to counteract the jamming by changing its wave bands back and forth. They feel that their programs are received "fair to good" 37% of the time.

THEY ALSO USE a "saturation broadcast"—from midnight until 1:40 a.m., having all available transmitters broadcast in one language on different frequencies. This is done 20 minutes for each language; the broadcast summarizes the important news of the day so that if one cannot li Declassified in Part - Sanitized Copy Approved for Release @ 50-Yr 2014/02/10 : CIA-RDP73-00475R000200330001-9

And this "saturation broadcast" is very difficult to "jam" effectively. Radio Free Europe also gets letters from listeners inside the Iron Curtain—strange as that may seem. RFE does not encourage people to write; often they may subject themselves to danger by doing so. One country for a while would accept foreign address letters only at certain postal stations, which made it easier to check those sending letters.

But often RFE will broadcast a postal address, a "drop address" where letters may be sent. These are changed frequently, to make it more difficult for the regime to harass writers of such letters. There are over 8,000,000 radio receivers in RFE's five target countries. These have almost doubled in the past eight years. RFE believes this proves there is a demand for radio sets by the people—and also that the

communists themselves are using radio sufficiently to want such themselves in so doing



Radio Free Europe sends interviewers to sports events to get comments and news for its programs. Here two RFE interviewers talk with Dutch "Worms of Freedom."

these sets can receive RFE broadcasts on one or more frequencies, because RFE utilizes 21 frequencies in its broadcasts.

WHAT RFE IS doing through its broadcasts is waging psychological warfare on communism.

RFE does not like that term; but that is what the communist regimes consider it.

RFE is trying to break the monopoly these regimes have over communications—over the ideas, the information, the news that reaches its people. As one RFE staff member pointed out, any totalitarian regime must have that monopoly over communications if it is to succeed in being truly totalitarian.

Naturally, RFE is trying to discourage the people in these countries from helping the communist regimes—but in such a way

that the people will not harm themselves in so doing

for instance, knows that a similar worker in a free country earns more than he does for the same work, and can buy much more with it, this creates a sense of dissatisfaction with communism, perhaps a questioning of its effectiveness, if that attitude had not been present.

HOW WELL IS Radio Free Europe doing this tremendous job it has assumed? One cannot learn the answer to that question in a mere three days spent in Munich—even with the utmost cooperation from everyone, from the acting European director to clerks and typists—but a few impressions do stand out.

One is the professional tone, the professional competence of the Radio Free Europe operation. This is no amateur performance; these are highly skilled men, working much harder than they would in the

United States and with much less security than they would

RFE—like the missionaries in foreign lands—is working very hard to put itself out of business. When and if RFE succeeds in its task—in helping to lift the Iron Curtain so that the whole world may be free again—RFE has no further purpose.

This is no surface pose. The many-corridor building of Radio Free Europe here is prime evidence of that. Its design is that of a hospital, just for that reason—so that it may be turned into a hospital when RFE is no longer necessary.

THERE IS ALSO a sense of "mission" or dedication here, too. These people realize the menace of communism. Many workers at RFE have had personal contact with the horrors of concentration camps; some bear the scars of their experiences. They have seen the steady growth of communism as it engulfed their homelands; and they are trying to turn back that tide, and to help their countrymen to withstand the communist pressures.

Personally I was very impressed with the work of Radio Free Europe—and with its necessity, that people behind the Iron Curtain may know the truth, the truth that some day shall make them free.

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